Women's perceptions of intimate partner violence in Zambia

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Abstract:

Despite growing awareness of violence against women, intimate partner violence (IPV) continues to be a major public health issue worldwide. Understanding factors associated with attitudes toward violence against women is a crucial first step in developing prevention strategies to reduce the occurrence of IPV. This secondary data analysis used data from 9353 women who participated in the 2013–2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) to examine demographic and social factors associated with attitudes toward wife beating—a common type of IPV. Our main research objectives were: (1) examine the most common reasons for endorsement (justification) of wife beating by Zambian women and (2) determine the predictors of approval (or justification of) wife beating by Zambian women. In addition, this study investigated the relationship between wealth and media on perceptions of wife beating in Zambia. Descriptive, bivariate, multivariate, and logistic regression analyses were conducted to assess the effects of sociodemographic factors on women's perceptions of wife beating. Over half (53.5%) of Zambian women endorsed at least one justification for wife beating. Wealth index, listening to the radio, reading the newspaper or magazine, and watching television (TV) were significant predictors of women's endorsement of wife beating. We also examined the role of media exposure as a mediator between wealth and endorsement of wife beating. Women who reported reading the newspaper or magazine and watching TV were less likely to support wife beating; however, women who listened to the radio were more likely to support wife beating. Justification and endorsement among Zambian women is problematic and suggests that for some, wife beating is a cultural norm. Interventions aimed at reducing wife beating in Zambia should include broad public awareness and media campaigns on violence against women.

Keywords: Zambia | violence against women | intimate partner violence | wife beating

Article:

Introduction

Intimate partner violence (IPV) is a leading cause of homicide death of women globally (Devries et al. 2013). This type of violence refers to behavior by an intimate partner or ex-partner that causes physical, sexual, or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse, and controlling behaviors. Globally, almost one third (30%) of women older than 15 years have experienced some type of physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime (Black et al. 2010). Within sub-Saharan Africa, the average prevalence of IPV ranges from 38.83% to 65.64% (Devries et al. 2013). "Worldwide, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by an intimate partner" (World Health Organization 2017). The consequences of IPV are devasting and can lead to negative mental, physical, and reproductive health outcomes, and increase the risk of acquiring HIV (World Health Organization 2012).

Zambia, like many countries, continues to have unacceptably high rates of wife beating—a common type of IPV. According to the most recent data from the Zambia 2013–2014 Demographic and Health Survey, more than 4 in 10 ever-married women (43%) have been victims of spousal abuse. Findings from a multicountry study on women's health and domestic violence conducted by the World Health Organization (WHO) found that common risk factors for IPV included sociodemographics and personal characteristics such as a cohabitation, young age, low SES, experiencing childhood abuse, or witnessing domestic violence as a child, and having views that are supportive of wife beating (Abramsky et al. 2011). A growing body of literature has assessed perceptions of IPV and how supportive views toward violence against women increase the risk for the occurrence of IPV. For example, Faramarzi et al. (2005) noted that tolerant attitudes toward male dominance and violence may be a stronger predictor of IPV compared to other factors such as unemployment, low education, and poverty.

Media is influential in many capacities and may reinforce negative cultural and societal views that tolerate violence against women. One study on media and IPV found that South African media portrays IPV as an extreme act of violence (Wilcox 2008). Stories such as this may make women feel as though their case is not extreme enough to report. Another study reported that some media sources may be more likely to blame the victim for the abuse rather than the perpetrator (Isaacs 2016). It is important to have a clear understanding of the cultural and socioeconomic factors and perceptions associated with various forms of IPV, including wife beating.

Moreover, it is equally important to understand what factors lead to a culture supportive of violence against women. Thus, the main goal of this study was to examine women's perceptions and attitudes toward wife beating, a common form of IPV in Zambia. Our main research questions were as follows: (1) What reasons are most likely supported as justification for wife beating by Zambian women? and (2) What are the predictors of approval (i.e., justification) of wife beating by women in Zambia? We also investigated the relationship between wealth and media on perceptions of wife beating in Zambia.

Materials and Methods

Study population

Data were retrieved and analyzed from the 2013–2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS). This national representative data were collected by the Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Health and the University Teaching Hospital Virology Laboratory, the Tropical Diseases Research Centre, and the Department of Population Studies at the University of Zambia. The purpose of the 2013–2014 ZDHS was to collect data on the population and health of individuals in Zambia (Central Statistical Office et al. 2014).

Participants

A nationally representative sample of 16,411 women 15–49 years of age and 14,773 men 15–59 years of age in selected households were interviewed for the 2013–2014 ZDHS. Our study, however, only included women who completed the Women's Empowerment and Demographic and Health Outcomes Module because our primary area of interest was women's perceptions of IPV. The survey questionnaire referred to IPV as wife beating (terminology for IPV commonly used in Zambia). After recoding selected variables on the primary wife beating outcomes, our study included a sample size of 9353 women.

Dependent variable

Our dependent variable was approval (justification) of wife beating. The survey questionnaire referred to IPV as wife beating. To assess women's attitudes on wife beating, they were asked if a husband is justified in beating his wife, given the following scenarios: (1) if a woman burns the food, (2) if a woman neglects the children, (3) if a woman goes out without telling her husband, (4) if a woman argues with her husband, and (5) if a woman refuses to have sex with her husband. Binary (0 = no and 1 = yes) responses to these scenarios indicated a woman's justification or approval of wife beating for each question, and a global binary score of wife beating justification response was calculated so that a 1 indicted having endorsed one or more justifications and a 0 indicated declining all five justifications.

Independent variables

The independent variables were selected sociodemographic characteristics and media exposure. Sociodemographic variables included type of place of residence, region of residence, marital status, wealth index, mean spousal age gap, religious affiliation, educational attainment, age in 10-year groups, and mean age. The media exposure variables were landline telephone ownership and frequency of media usage (watching television [TV], reading the newspaper or magazine, and listening to the radio).

Statistical analysis

Using the IBM Statistical Package of Social Sciences Version 25, descriptive statistics and bivariate, multivariate, and logistic regression analyses were conducted to assess the effects of sociodemographic factors and media use on women's perceptions of wife beating. Due to variation in the number of respondents under each variable, there was a disparity in number of N, ranging from 9523 to 9083. Descriptive statistics results of the sample population can be seen in Table 1. Categorical variables (such as marital status, age groups, and education) were

recoded to conform with coding used in previous analyses of the DHS data sets. Marital status was recoded from the following: “never in union,” “single,” “married,” “living with partner,” “widowed or divorced” into a binary variable in union or not in union. Age of participants was categorized in 10-year groups as 15–24, 25–34, and older than 35. Educational attainment was recoded as less than secondary for primary education or no education, and secondary or higher for secondary education or more. Figure 1 indicates the percentage of women who agreed that a husband is justified in beating his wife for the various reasons indicated. Table 2 shows results of the logistic regression, while Figure 2 depicts a mediation model showing the association between global binary outcome and wealth with media as a mediator.

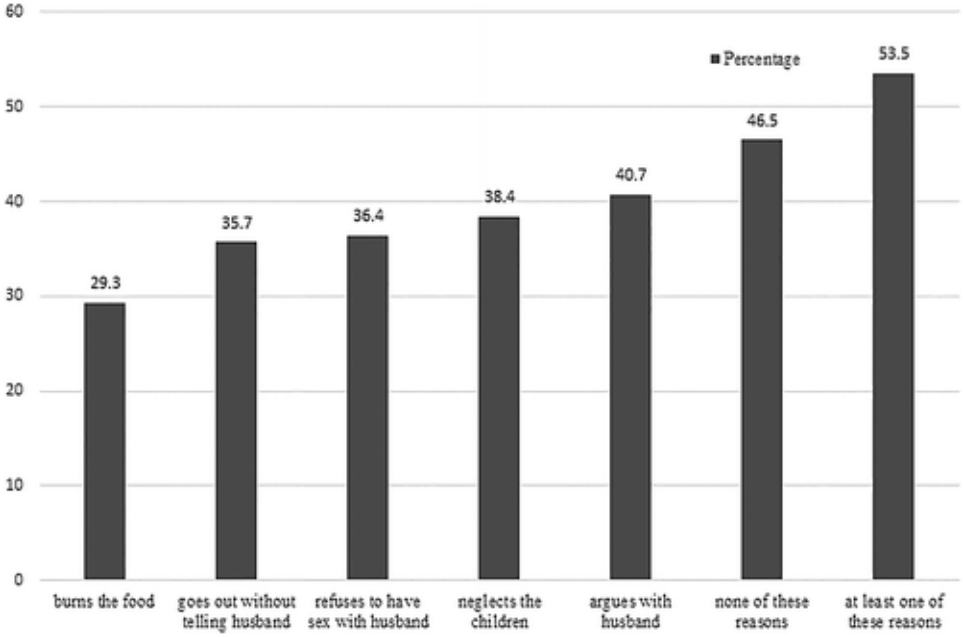

Figure 1. Percentage of Zambian women who agree that a husband is justified for beating his wife for specific reasons ZDHS 2013–2014. *n* = 9353. ZDHS, Zambia Demographic and Health Survey.

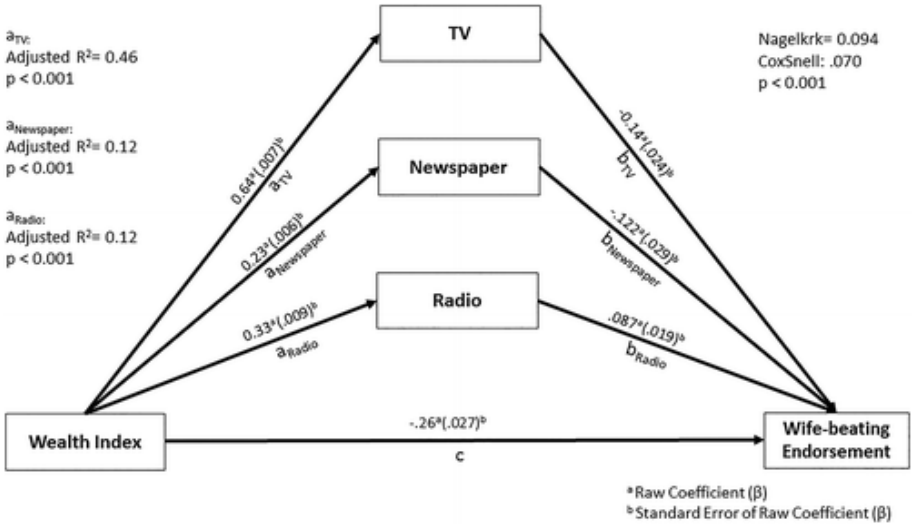

Figure 2. Test of mediation model.

Table 1. Selected Background Characteristics of Participants, 2013–2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (Pooled $n = 9353$)

Characteristic	**n *(%) or mean ± SD***
Type of place of residence	
Urban	3785 (40.5)
Rural	5568 (59.5)
Region of residence	
Central	797 (8.5)
Copperbelt	862 (9.2)
Eastern	1151 (12.3)
Luapula	1022 (10.9)
Lusaka	907 (9.7)
Muchinga	854 (9.1)
Northern	988 (10.6)
Northwestern	932 (10.0)
Southern	1039 (11.1)
Western	801 (8.6)
Wealth index	
Poorest	2039 (21.8)
Poorer	2061 (22.0)
Middle	2152 (23.0)
Richer	1734 (18.5)
Richest	1367 (14.6)
Marital status	
In union	7298 (78.0)
Not in union	2055 (22.0)
Mean spousal age gap	6.10 ± 4.80
Mean age	28.80 ± 7.29
Age group	
15–24	3014 (32.2)
25–34	4178 (44.7)
≥35	2161 (23.1)
Educational attainment	
Less than secondary	5929 (63.4)
Secondary or higher	3416 (36.6)
Religious affiliation	
Protestant	7695 (83.3)
Other	1538 (16.7)
Frequency of watching TV	
Never	6153 (65.9)
Less than once a week	458 (4.9)
At least once a week	631 (6.8)
Daily	2101 (22.5)
Frequency of listening to the radio	
Never	3841 (41.1)
Less than once a week	995 (10.6)
At least once a week	1619 (17.3)
Daily	2888 (30.9)
Frequency of reading newspaper/magazine	
Never	6742 (72.3)
Less than once a week	1103 (11.8)
At least once a week	1031 (11.1)
Daily	447 (4.8)
Household owns a landline telephone	
No	8996 (99)
Yes	87 (1)

SD, standard deviation; TV, television.

Table 2. Adjusted Odds Ratios from Multiple Logistic Regression Models of Accepting that Wife Beating Is Justified for Specific Reasons, Among Women Participants in the 2013–2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Surveys

Characteristics	*Global OR (95% CI)*	*Burns the food OR (95% CI)*	*Argues with husband OR (95% CI)*	*Goes out without telling husband OR (95% CI)*	*Neglects the children OR (95% CI)*	*Refuses to have sex with husband OR (95% CI)*
Urban vs. rural residence	1.08 (0.96–1.21)	1.15 (1.15–1.31)*	1.23 (1.23–1.38)***	1.07 (1.07–1.21)	1.09 (1.09–1.23)	1.21 (1.21–1.37)**
Protestant vs. other religion	0.88 (0.79–0.99)	0.79 (0.79–0.9)**	0.84 (0.84–0.95)**	0.90 (0.90–1.01)	0.90 (0.90–1.01)	0.83 (0.83–0.93)**
In union vs. not in union	1.00 (0.89–1.12)	0.92 (0.92–1.03)	1.07 (1.07–1.2)	1.18 (1.18–1.32)**	0.97 (0.97–1.09)	0.99 (0.99–1.12)
Less than secondary education vs. more than secondary education	1.16 (1.03–1.3)**	1.15 (1.15–1.3)*	1.11 (1.11–1.25)	1.07 (1.07–1.21)	1.07 (1.07–1.21)	1.16 (1.16–1.31)*
Age						
15–24	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
25–34	1.29 (1.14–1.46)***	1.24 (1.24–1.42)***	1.19 (1.19–1.35)**	1.24 (1.24–1.4)***	1.23 (1.23–1.39)***	0.89 (0.89–1.02)
≤35	0.98 (0.87–1.09)	1.06 (1.06–1.2)	0.98 (0.98–1.1)	1.00 (1.00–1.12)	1.01 (1.01–1.13)	0.92 (0.92–1.03)
Wealth index						
Poorest	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Poorer	3.18 (2.49–4.06)***	3.83 (3.83–5.17)***	3.35 (3.35–4.34)***	2.87 (2.87–3.75)***	2.86 (2.86–3.7)***	4.43 (4.43–5.83)***
Middle	3.08 (2.44–3.88)***	3.48 (3.48–4.64)***	3.18 (3.18–4.07)***	2.97 (2.97–3.83)***	3.06 (3.06–3.92)***	3.89 (3.89–5.07)***
Richer	2.36 (1.91–2.9)***	2.82 (2.82–3.69)***	2.42 (2.42–3.03)***	2.26 (2.26–2.86)***	2.54 (2.54–3.18)***	2.80 (2.80–3.57)***
Richest	1.47 (1.23–1.76)***	1.74 (1.74–2.22)***	1.45 (1.45–1.77)***	1.55 (1.55–1.9)***	1.65 (1.65–2.02)***	1.76 (1.76–2.19)***
Household owns a landline telephone	0.95 (0.58–1.55)	0.82 (0.82–1.63)	1.01 (1.01–1.72)	0.72 (0.72–1.34)	1.22 (1.22–2.04)	1.06 (1.06–1.89)
Frequency of listening to the radio						
Never	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Less than once a week	0.82 (0.73–0.92)***	0.91 (0.91–1.03)	0.83 (0.83–0.93)***	0.90 (0.90–1.01)	0.83 (0.83–0.93)**	0.91 (0.91–1.03)
At least once a week	0.80 (0.68–0.94)***	0.80 (0.80–0.96)*	0.87 (0.87–1.02)	0.90 (0.90–1.07)	0.79 (0.79–0.93)**	0.85 (0.85–1.01)
Daily	1.03 (0.9–1.18)	1.09 (1.09–1.26)	1.01 (1.01–1.15)	1.09 (1.09–1.25)	1.00 (1.00–1.14)	1.00 (1.00–1.15)
Frequency of reading newspaper/magazine						
Never	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Less than once a week	1.44 (1.15–1.8)***	1.51 (1.51–2.01)**	1.41 (1.41–1.8)**	1.68 (1.68–2.19)***	1.43 (1.43–1.82)**	1.57 (1.57–2.04)***
At least once a week	1.02 (0.8–1.31)	1.03 (1.03–1.42)	0.92 (0.92–1.2)	1.32 (1.32–1.76)	1.04 (1.04–1.36)	1.05 (1.05–1.4)
Daily	1.24 (0.97–1.59)	1.36 (1.36–1.86)	1.14 (1.14–1.49)	1.50 (1.50–2)**	1.25 (1.25–1.63)	1.33 (1.33–1.78)*
Frequency of watching TV						
Never	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Less than once a week	1.43 (1.22–1.68)***	1.56 (1.56–1.9)***	1.37 (1.37–1.62)***	1.33 (1.33–1.58)**	1.29 (1.29–1.53)**	1.35 (1.35–1.61)***
At least once a week	1.24 (0.98–1.58)	1.51 (1.51–2)**	1.19 (1.19–1.53)	1.21 (1.21–1.57)	1.26 (1.26–1.62)	1.27 (1.27–1.65)
Daily	1.64 (1.34–2.02)***	1.57 (1.57–2.01)***	1.66 (1.66–2.06)***	1.39 (1.39–1.74)**	1.39 (1.39–1.73)**	1.43 (1.43–1.8)**

*$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.05$.

Logistic regression analyses. In the first model, a series of multivariate logistic regression analyses were used to examine the association between demographics (place of residence, religion, spouse age difference, education, and wealth) and media exposure (TV, newspaper/magazine, radio, and land phone line) and the global outcome, as well as each of the five wife beating justification reasons (burns food, neglects children, refuses sex, argues with husband, and goes out). In these models, multinominal variables such as wealth and the media exposure variables were dummy coded with the highest value as the referent group. This approach yielded odds ratios for each contrast. Results are provided in Table 2.

Mediation analyses. The mediation analyses were conducted using the conditional process model (Hayes 2018). We examined how exposure to three media channels (TV, newspaper/magazine, and radio) mediated the association between wealth and the global binary outcome. In this model we treated wealth, TV, radio, and newspaper as continuous outcomes. This shift in the modeling from categorical to continuous was necessitated by the fact that the mediation modeling approach was best accomplished with these variables as continuous. We felt comfortable with this shift for several reasons. First, it is commonly reported with five or more levels of the variables as well as continuous variables. Second, this effect is most apparent with large sample sizes (our sample size was over 9000). Finally, sensitivity analyses conducted by using the conditional process model with the variables as multinomial versus continuous in the series of logistic regression discussed above, showed very small differences in Wald tests and Nagelkirk R^2.

Results

Demographic and background characteristics

A total of 9353 women respondents to the 2013–2014 ZDHS were considered for this analysis. Table 1 summarizes selected demographic factors for these women. Most women reported residing in rural areas (59.5%) compared to urban areas (40.5%). The proportion of women surveyed from each of the 10 geographic regions was relatively uniform, ranging from 8.5% to 12.3% (Central and Eastern, respectively). Many respondents were in the middle, poorer, or poorest categories (23%, 22%, and 21.8%), while fewer identified as richer (18.5%) and richest (14.6%). Most women were in union with their partner (78.0%), compared with being unmarried or not living with a partner (22.0%). The overall mean age was 28.8 (standard deviation [SD] = 7.29 years), with 44.7% of women between the ages of 25 and 34; furthermore, mean spousal age gap was 6.1 years (SD = 4.80 years). The majority (63.4%) reported less than secondary educational attainment, while 36.6% reported receiving a secondary education or higher. In addition, women most frequently aligned with Protestant (82.5%) or Catholic (16.5%) religion.

Regarding media consumption, most women reported never watching TV (65.9%), never listening to the radio (41.1%), and never reading a newspaper/magazine (72.3%). For TV and radio use, daily consumption was the next highest response (22.5% and 30.9%, respectively), while reading a newspaper/magazine demonstrated an inversely proportional relationship between use frequency and number of respondents (only 4.8% reported daily reading). Finally, only 1% of households reported owning a landline telephone.

Figure 1 depicts the percentage of women who endorsed specific reasons to justify wife beating: burning food, going out without permission, arguing with husband, refusing sex, or neglecting children. Most women (53.5%) endorsed at least one of these justifications, while 46.5% reported none of these reasons. “Arguing with their husband” was the most common singular response with 40.7% of respondents reporting this justification, while only 29.3% reported burning the food as a reasonable justification.

Perceptions of wife beating

Table 2 presents results for multiple logistic regression of global binary scores of wife beating acceptance among participants. The dependent variable was global binary score of wife beating under five scenarios, and independent variables were residence, religion, 10-year age group categories, spousal age gap, education, wealth index, and media exposure variables. The following were found to be significant predictors of wife beating endorsement: age, education, wealth, as well as consumption of radio, newspaper/magazine, and TV. The results for reading the newspaper or magazine and watching TV were similar, whereby participants consuming these media forms were less likely to support wife beating. Those who reported watching TV, compared to not watching TV, were 0.851 times less likely to endorse any wife beating justification reasons, while those who reported reading newspapers/magazines were 0.877 times as likely ($p < 0.001$).

Although religion ($p = 0.679$) and telephone ownership ($p = 0.664$) showed a negative prediction of wife beating endorsement, these items were not statistically significant. Based on evidence from a previous study (Klomegah 2008), we hypothesized that religion would be a significant predictor of wife beating endorsement, but that was not the case. Our results, instead showed that participants who were Protestant, compared to those practicing other religions, were less likely to endorse wife beating. In addition, since telephone ownership was a form of media exposure, we expected that it would be a significant predictor, but our results were contrary. Nevertheless, our results suggested that participants who owned a telephone were less likely to endorse wife beating justification.

Positive predictors of wife beating endorsement were residence, spousal age gap, and listening to radio; however, residence ($p = 0.41$) and spousal age gap ($p = 0.09$) were not statistically significant. Interestingly, participants who listened to the radio at least once a week were significantly more likely to endorse one or more wife beating justification reasons ($p < 0.001$). In fact, compared to not listening to the radio, participants who listened to the radio were 1.096 times more likely to endorse wife beating. We then conducted interaction effects and the results indicated a stronger negative effect of wealth on wife beating endorsement in wealthier participants living in urban settings ($B = -0.42$), compared to participant living in rural settings ($B = -0.22$). For every one-point increase in wealth, the odds of endorsing wife beating was 80% for wealthy rural, versus 65% for wealthy urban respondents. Unfortunately, these interaction effects were not statistically significant.

We also ran five submodel logistic regressions with each of the five wife beating justification reasons. These results were consistent with the global binary score, wherein items that were

significant predictors of wife beating justification in the global binary were also significant in the submodels. No items that were not statistically significant in the global binary score became significant in the submodels. Essentially, if an item was significant in global binary, it was also significant in the submodels with each reason for wife beating justification. Wealth, for example, was consistently negative, although support for wife beating justifications varied among the five wealth categories. With every one-point increase in wealth index, participants were 0.751 times less likely to support wife beating for any reason ($p < 0.001$). An unexpected find was that radio was a positive predictor of wife beating justification across all regression analyses. Overall, participants may differ in their justifications for wife beating, but our analyses did not indicate a clear rationale for reasons that they endorsed.

Finally, we conducted Hayes Macro Logistic regression analyses between wealth index and media, and between media and wife beating endorsement global binary score. The mediation pathway of wealth index and wife beating endorsement through media (TV, newspaper/magazine, and radio) is shown in Figure 2. As can be seen in the figure, those with higher wealth had higher access to media and lower endorsement of wife beating justification, except for radio. Accompanying coefficients, standard errors and adjusted R^2, are also shown in Figure 2. All the relationships indicated statistical significance; however, radio was statistically significant and a positive predictor of wife beating endorsement.

Discussion

Like many countries throughout the world, IPV is a public health issue that continues to occur due to many social, economic, and cultural factors. In this study, we found that age, educational attainment, wealth, as well as type and frequency of media consumption are significant predictors of wife beating endorsement, a common form of IPV, among Zambian women.

Our findings support those of Klomegah (2008) and others that indicate younger women tend to be more at risk for IPV than older women and are more likely to justify and endorse IPV. Olayanju et al. (2013) suggested that educational attainment was the “most consistent factor” associated with IPV risk, while Ackerson and Subramanian (2008) found that women who had primary-only or no education were two to five times as likely to experience IPV exposure. Similarly, we found that Zambian women with a secondary education were 0.855 times as likely to justify wife beating for any reason. Furthermore, Adams et al. (2013) reported that women who experienced IPV as an adolescent obtained less education, which later influenced their earning potential. Accordingly, effective interventional methods targeted toward young people are vital to halt the perpetuation of victimization.

Notably, IPV affects women at all socioeconomic levels; however, families with lower wealth are more likely to experience IPV than those with higher wealth. One possible explanation is that lower income leads to fewer access to resources, which creates conflict and violence over resource utilization (Olayanju et al. 2013). The increased incidence of IPV at lower income levels may also propagate into future generations. Speizer (2009) found that children who witness IPV between their parents are more likely to have supportive attitudes toward IPV, and either perpetuate or experience IPV in their adult lives. Klomegah (2008) also reported that women who felt that wife beating is justified are 1.62 times as likely to experience abuse.

A previous study of 17 sub-Saharan African countries (Zambia not included) found that "neglecting the children" was the most commonly reported justification for IPV (Uthman et al. 2009), whereas we found that Zambian women cited "arguing with their husband" most frequently. Both responses may be indicative of the deep-rooted gender roles and social norms present throughout these societies. Uthman et al. (2009) suggest that a woman's failure to conform to these established gender roles forms an "important trigger for violence." Similarly, a previous study revealed that the majority of men in Zambia justified IPV as a means to "punish a woman for transgression from normative domestic roles" (Lawoko 2008). Others have argued that IPV risk factors may be rooted in cultural values, as traditional gender roles set up a power dynamic between husband and wife and that some men "use violence to gain power within their relationships" (Olayanju et al. 2013).

It appears that media holds an important role in the influence of culturally sanctioned and normative behaviors. Carlyle et al. (2008) suggests that the media skews perception of IPV risk by framing the story around something that is particularly violent and abnormal, allowing the public to distance themselves from it, thereby strengthening the idea that IPV is a personal, rather than widespread, public issue. Carlyle et al. further assert that the media can effectively impact social institutions by normalizing behaviors that will then be perpetuated and policed within communities. Importantly, how IPV is framed in the media can determine the extent of public engagement, converting the issue from a "private family matter" to one that requires public intervention (Olayanju et al. 2013).

Our findings suggest that women's access to media in Zambia is relatively poor, with the majority of women reporting that they never watch TV (65.9%) or read a newspaper/magazine (72.3). The most common type of media consumed by Zambian women was radio, with 30.9% reporting daily use. Uthman, Lawoko, and Moradi's (2009) examination of attitudes toward IPV in 17 sub-Saharan countries (not including Zambia) found that IPV was more likely to be endorsed among those with less access to media. In addition, access to media was linked to reduced odds of IPV acceptance in most countries. However, access to radio increased the likelihood of respondents in Zimbabwe to justify IPV against women. Similar to the findings of Uthman and Lawoko (2009), our study also found that listening to the radio was a positive predictor of wife beating endorsement in Zambia.

Potentially, women's decreased access to more expensive media sources may perpetuate traditional ideas of gender inequality and patriarchal power dynamics, while presenting a limitation to the success of established interventional techniques (Boonzaier 2008). Future studies, including content analyses of the portrayal of IPV among various types of media, are suggested to better understand how some media sources can either negatively or positively influence perceptions of IPV.

Given its influence in shaping cultural and societal norms, media in all forms can be used as an important tool for social change. Increasing public understanding and awareness of IPV through media can significantly contribute toward its reduction (World Health Organization 2010). To combat the current attitudes toward IPV, the WHO advocates Media Awareness Campaigns designed to educate and empower women (World Health Organization 2010). Such efforts may

be helpful in breaking the norms that "sustain women's vulnerability" (Uthman 2009) by addressing concepts of "masculinity, power, gender, and violence" (World Health Organization 2010). Given the frequency of radio use among the women we studied, radio advertisements targeted toward both men and women may be both cost-effective and helpful in reducing wife beating and other forms of IPV in these communities.

Conclusions

Violence against women is a global health issue (World Health Organization 2013). The endorsement of wife beating and some sociodemographic characteristics are associated with a greater likelihood of endorsement of wife beating among Zambian women. In addition, our findings suggest that some media outlets (newspaper and TV) are associated with a decreased likelihood of endorsement, whereas radio was associated with an increased likelihood. Further studies that examine the content of such media should be explored to gain a deeper and more robust understanding of how media may influence the endorsement of IPV in Zambia.

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